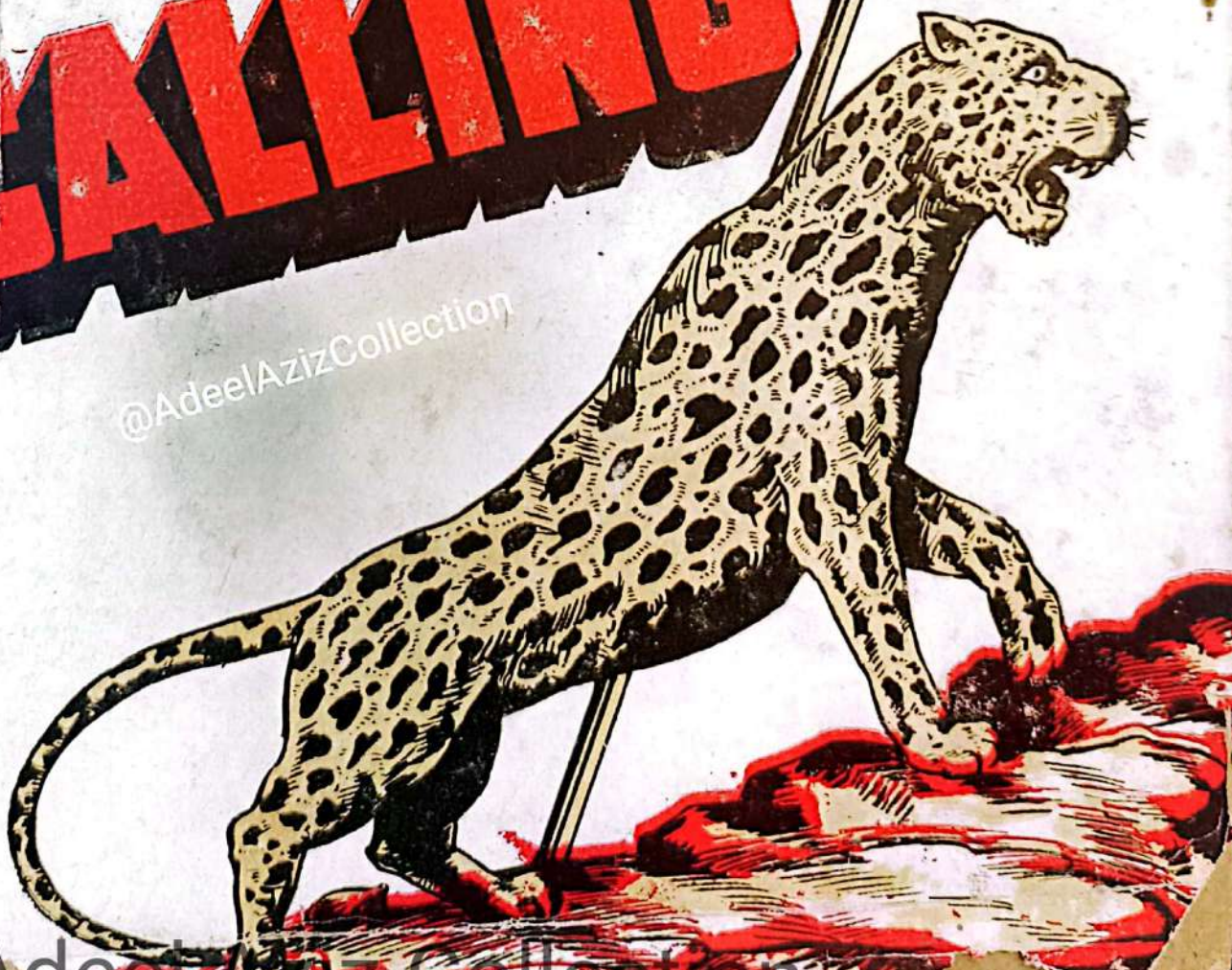




# INDIA CALLING

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BOOK LAKE  
10.11.1978.  
Lahore.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

# INDIA CALLING

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Edited by  
R. I. PAUL

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LHR

. . . . . there in the distance—  
beyond that river, beyond those  
jungles, beyond those hills, lies  
the promised land—the soil from  
which we sprang—the land to  
which we shall now return. Hark !  
India is calling . . . . . Blood is call-  
ing to blood. Get up, we have  
no time to lose. Take up your  
arms ! . . . . . we shall carve our  
way through the enemy's ranks,  
or if God wills, we shall die a  
martyr's death. And in our last  
sleep we shall kiss the road that  
will bring our Army to Delhi. The  
road to Delhi is the road to **FREE-**  
**DOM.**

Chalo Dilli !

*Subas Thandra Bora*

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## CONTENTS

POINTED PARAGRAPHS . . . . .	9
I. India's Deliverance . . . . .	25
II. Dawn of Freedom . . . . .	28
III. Midsummer Madness . . . . .	30
IV. Clarion Call . . . . .	34
V. Our National Honour . . . . .	36
VI. Your and My Burden . . . . .	37
VII. Final March to Freedom . . . . .	38
VIII. Dilli Chalo . . . . .	40
IX. My Object in Leaving India . . . . .	43
X. To Sisters . . . . .	47
XI. Need of a Second Front . . . . .	50
XII. Our Task . . . . .	52
XIII. Thanks to This War . . . . .	54
XIV. At the Mausoleum of Baha- dur Shah . . . . .	56
XV. The Place of Mahatmaji . . . . .	58
XVI. Oath of Allegiance . . . . .	62
XVII. Proclamation . . . . .	63
XVIII. Setting up the Provisional Government . . . . .	67
XIX. To Sisters Again . . . . .	71

XX.	Total Mobilisation . . . . .	73
XXI.	The Second Dream of My Political Life . . . . .	75
XXII.	National Entity in Fact as well as in Name . . . . .	76
XXIII.	Our Finances . . . . .	78
XXIV.	Our Achievements . . . . .	79
XXV.	Anti-India Radio Tactics . . . . .	84
XXVI.	O Father of Our Nation ! . . . . .	87
XXVII.	Second Front . . . . .	92
XXVIII.	Hate the Enemy . . . . .	94
XXIX.	Enemy Propaganda . . . . .	96
XXX.	Gandhiji's Plan . . . . .	99
XXXI.	War Situation . . . . .	101
XXXII.	An Appointment with Death . . . . .	104
XXXIII.	The Dearest Dream of My Life . . . . .	106
XXXIV.	On the Eve of Leaving Burma . . . . .	107
XXXV.	Special Order of the Day . . . . .	110



## POINTED PARAGRAPHS

India has but one enemy, the enemy who has exploited her for over a hundred years, the enemy who sucks the life-blood of Mother India, British Imperialism.

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When British Imperialism is defeated, India will get her freedom. If, on the other hand, British Imperialism should somehow win the war, then India's slavery would be perpetuated for ever.

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All my life I have been the servant of India. Until the last hour of my life I shall remain one. My allegiance and loyalty have ever been and will ever be to India alone, no matter in which part of the world I may live.

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Free India will have a social order based on the eternal principles of Justice, Equality and Fraternity.

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British Imperialism has meant for India moral degradation, cultural ruin, economic impoverishment and political enslavement.

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It is our duty to pay for our liberty with our own blood. The freedom that we shall win, through our sacrifice and exertions, we shall be able to preserve with our own strength.

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The enemy that has drawn the sword must be fought with the sword. Civil disobedience must develop into armed struggle. And only when the Indian people receive the baptism of fire on a large scale will they qualify for their freedom.

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To us Indians, what is of primary importance is not what is happening at Tunis, Timbuctoo or in Lampedusa or Alaska, but what is happening inside India and across our frontier.

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The British Empire has grown out of India. The British people know, no matter to which political party they belong, that they need to reap all the resources of India. To them empire means India. They are now fighting madly to preserve that empire. Consequently, no matter what fate besets Britain during the course of this war, the Englishman will endeavour to the very last to keep his empire,—that is, to hold on to India.

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It is midsummer madness that we should expect the Englishman voluntarily to give up his empire. . . . No Indian should ever cherish the illusion that one day England will be induced to recognise India's independence.

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Our independence admits of no compromises. Freedom is only won when the British and their allies quit India for good. And those who really want liberty must fight for it and pay for it with their own blood.

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Let us continue the battle with unshakable faith



till the day that British Imperialism will be broken up and out of its ashes India will once again emerge an independent nation.

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India shall be free,—and before long. And a free India will throw open the prison gates, so that her worthy sons may step out of the darkness of the prison cells into the light of freedom.

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The task of liberating India is ours, and ours alone. That responsibility we shall not cast on anybody else because that would be against our national honour.

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If we want to expel British Power from India, we have to fight the enemy with his own weapons. The enemy has already drawn the sword—he must therefore be fought with the sword.

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When the blood of freedom-loving Indians begins to flow, India will attain her freedom.

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When I left homeland in 1941, on an important mission, it was in accordance with the will of the vast majority of my countrymen.

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I can assure everybody once again that whatever we have done up till now, or may do in future, has been and will be for the freedom of India, and we shall never do anything that is either against the interests of India or will not be in accordance with the will of our people.

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By winning freedom through our own efforts and sacrifice, we shall be acquiring the strength whereby we shall preserve our liberty for all time.

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How many of us will individually survive this war of freedom, I do not know. But I do know this, that we shall ultimately win and our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the Victory-parade on another graveyard of the British Empire—the Lal Killa of Ancient Delhi.

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Soldiers who always remain faithful to their nation, who perform their duty under all circumstances, and who are always prepared to sacrifice their lives, are invincible. Engrave these three ideals in the inmost core of your hearts.

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So conduct yourselves that your countrymen may bless you and posterity may be proud of you. I assure you that I shall be with you in darkness and in sunshine, in sorrow and in joy, in suffering and in victory.

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For the present, I can offer you nothing except hunger, thirst, suffering, forced marches and death. It does not matter who among us will live to see India free. It is enough that India shall be free and that we shall give our all to make her free.

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The time has come when I can openly tell the whole world including our enemies, as to how it is proposed to bring about national liberation. Indians outside India, particularly Indians in East Asia, are going to organise a fighting force which will be powerful enough



to attack the British Army in India. When we do so, a revolution will break out, not only among the civil population at home, but also among the Indian Army which is now standing under the British Flag. When the British Government is thus attacked from both sides—from inside India and from outside—it will collapse, and the Indian people will then regain their liberty.

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In fact, it will be no exaggeration for me to say that there is no sphere of public activity, there is no department of national endeavour, in which Indian women have not gladly and bravely shared, along with our men, the burden of our national struggle. Whether it is touring from village to village without food and drink, whether it is lecturing at one meeting after another, whether it is carrying the Freedom-message from door to door, whether it is running election campaigns or whether it is leading processions along public streets in defiance of official orders and in spite of lathi charges by the inhuman British Police, or whether it is facing bravely imprisonment and persecution, insult and humiliation, nowhere have our women been found wanting.

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If there is any one either here or elsewhere who thinks that it is an unworthy act to shoulder a rifle, I would ask her to turn to the pages of our history. What had our brave women done in past? What did the brave Rani of Jhansi do in the Revolution of 1857, India's First War of Independence. It was this queen who with drawn sword on horse-back led her men to battle. Through our ill-luck she fell, she failed, and India failed. But we have to continue and complete the work which the Great Rani undertook in 1857.

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In the last and final War of Independence we want not one Rani of Jhansi, but thousands and thousands of Ranis of Jhansi. It is not the number of rifles you may carry or the number of shots you may fire which is important. Equally important is the moral effect of your brave example.

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Let the whole world know, and let the enemies know, that all Indians in East Asia are united regardless of religion or caste and they are determined to fight for the freedom of their common Motherland.

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This is for me a matter of joy and pride—for an Indian there can be no greater honour than to be the Commander of India's Army of Liberation.

\* \* \*

We must weld ourselves into an army that will have only one goal—Freedom of India,—and only one will—to do or die in the cause of India's freedom. When we stand, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a wall of granite; when we march, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a steam-roller.

\* \* \*

With the slogan "Onward to Delhi" on our lips, let us continue to labour and to fight till our National Flag flies over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi, and the Azad Hind Fauj holds its Victory-parade inside the ancient Red Fortress of India's Metropolis.

\* \* \*

So long as peace reigned all over the world, it was practically impossible for the Indian people to get arms and fight with arms. It was impossible for the people inside India. It was also impossible for people



outside India. But thanks to this war, what was impossible four or five years ago has today become possible.

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From Calcutta to Bombay and from Rawalpindi to Madras, there are splendid barracks, not for the Indian Army but for the British Tommy,—but these splendid barracks are going to be taken for our Indian National Army, and I promise to give the British in return all the prisons for their use.

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The service which Mahatma Gandhi has rendered to India and to the cause of India's freedom is so unique and unparalleled that his name will be written in letters of gold in our national history for all time to come.

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His (Gandhiji's) services to the cause of India's freedom are unique and unparalleled. No single man could have achieved more in a single lifetime under similar circumstances. The nearest historical parallel to Mahatma Gandhi is perhaps Mustapha Kemal, who saved Turkey after her defeat in the last World War, and who was then acclaimed by the Turks as the "Ghazi".

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When Mahatma Gandhi commended his Non-co-operation programme to the Indian nation at the annual session of the Congress at Nagpur in December, 1920, he said: "If India had the sword today, she would have drawn the sword." And proceeding further Mahatmaji said that since armed revolution was out of the question, the only other alternative before the country was that of Non-co-operation or Satyagraha. Since then times have changed and it is

now possible for the Indian people to draw the sword.

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It is hopeless to expect the formation of a Provisional Government within the frontiers of India. It is equally hopeless to expect the last fight for freedom to be organised or initiated within the country. It is consequently for the Indians in East Asia to undertake this solemn task.

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In setting up this Provisional Government we are, on the one hand, meeting the exigencies of the Indian situation, and are, on the other, following in the footsteps of history. In recent times, the Irish people set up their Provisional Government in 1916. The Czechs did the same during the last World War. The Turks, under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal, set up their Provisional Government in Anatolia.

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Our past has been a great and glorious one. India could not have produced a heroine like the Rani of Jhansi if she did not have a glorious tradition. In the same way as we have figures like Maitreyi in India's ancient days, we have the inspiring examples of Ahalyabai of Maharashtra, Rani Bhawani of Bengal, Razya Begum and Noor Jehan, who were shining administrators in recent historic times prior to British rule in India. I have every confidence in the fertility of the Indian soil. I am confident that India, as in the past, will surely produce the best flowers of Indian womanhood.

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Unfortunately, Jhansi Rani was defeated. It was not her defeat; it was the defeat of India. She died, but her spirit can never die. India can once



again produce Jhansi Ranis and march on to victory.

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When the I.N.A. is getting trained either to march to victory or to spill its last drop of blood on the way, the rich people are asking me whether total mobilisation means ten per cent or five per cent of their riches. I would ask these people who are speaking of percentages whether we can tell our soldiers to fight and spill only ten per cent of their blood and save the rest.

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All our finances are based on the cardinal rule: Indians stand on their own legs; they refuse stilts lent by others. This has given us a lot of independence in our dealings with the Japs. Also it has prevented our worst enemies from pointing a finger at the smallest item in our programme to say that we have bartered the future of our country.

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Up till now, I have not received any complaint from our troops regarding the hardships that they are suffering. There has been only one complaint from the men and that is when there has been delay in sending them forward. For example, I recently visited an hospital where there were men who have either been wounded, or stricken with malaria or some other disease. All these troops expressed their desire to be sent back to the front as soon as they were well. These are men who fought at the front and they know the conditions there, and yet they were absolutely cheerful and optimistic.

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Our task will be made much easier if there is no compromise inside India between the Congress and



the British Government. So far there is no sign of compromise, and what is exceedingly encouraging to us is that the statements Mahatma Gandhi has made up till now all point in one direction, and that is that he sees no reason to alter the attitude he took up about two years ago when he sponsored the "Quit India" resolution.

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Anybody who has a grain of common sense will realise that though a mercenary army can be organised by coercion, a Volunteer Army can never be so organised. You can perhaps force a man to shoulder a rifle, but you can never force him to give his life for a cause which is not his own.

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At an early stage our enemies used to say that the Azad Hind Fauj was no army—that it was a mere propaganda stunt—and that it would never fight. Later on, the anti-India Radio at Delhi began to shout that the Azad Hind Fauj had not crossed the frontier of India. Now that the frontier has been crossed and the battle for India's freedom is being waged on Indian soil, enemy propagandists have taken recourse to a last desperate trick. They are now inventing fictitious dates supposed to have been given out by us for our entry into Delhi and are abusing us for not reaching our destination according to schedule.

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Friends! The Azad Hind Fauj is an army which is not only composed of Indians, but it has also been trained by Indians. That army is today fighting under Indian officers.

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The Provisional Government and its Army are



the servants of the Indian nation. Their task is to fight and liberate India. When that liberation is achieved, it will be for the Indian people to determine the form of Government that they desire. The Provisional Government will then make room for a permanent Government in Free India, which will be set up in accordance with the will of the Indian people. For that glorious day we are now toiling, sweating and fighting.

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For Indians outside India, differences in method are like domestic differences.

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The high esteem in which you (Gandhiji) are held by patriotic Indians outside India and by foreign friends of India's freedom, was increased a hundred-fold when you bravely sponsored the "Quit India" Resolution in August, 1942.

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It would be a fatal mistake on our part to make a distinction between the British Government and the British people.

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So far as India is concerned, for all practical purposes, the British Government and the British people mean one and the same thing.

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After having served my people so long, to the best of my ability, I could have no desire to be a traitor, or to give any one a justification for calling me a traitor.

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Thanks to the generosity and to the affection

of my countrymen, I had obtained the highest honour which it was possible for any public worker in India to achieve.

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By going abroad on a perilous quest, I was risking, not only my life and my whole future career, but what was more, the future of my party. If I had the slightest hope that without action from abroad we could win freedom, I would never have left India during a crisis. If I had any hope that within our lifetime we could get another chance—another golden opportunity—for winning freedom, as during the present war, I doubt if I would have set out from home.

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There remains but one question for me to answer with regard to the Axis Powers. Can it be possible that I have been deceived by them. I believe it will be universally admitted that the cleverest and the most cunning politicians are to be found amongst Britishers. One who has worked with and fought British politicians all his life, cannot be deceived by any other politicians in the world. If British politicians have failed to coax or coerce me, no other politician can succeed in doing so. And if the British Government, at whose hands I have suffered long imprisonment, persecution and physical assault, has been unable to demoralise me, no other power can hope to do so. . . . I have never done anything which could compromise in the least, either the honour or the self-respect or the interests of my country.

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There was a time when Japan was an ally of our enemy. I did not come to Japan, so long as there was an Anglo-Japanese Alliance. I did not come to



Japan, so long as normal diplomatic relations obtained between the two countries.

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Like so many of my countrymen, my sympathies in 1937 and 1938 were with Chungking. You may remember that as President of the Congress, I was responsible for sending out a medical mission to Chungking in December, 1938.

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The Provisional Government has, as its one objective, the liberation of India from British yoke, through an armed struggle. Once our enemies are expelled from India, and peace and order is established, the mission of the Provisional Government will be over.

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When we advance further into India and the Indian people see with their own eyes, the British forces falling back, they will get the confidence that Britain's downfall is at hand. Then only will they risk their necks and come and join hands with our advancing forces to liberate the country. Together we shall then pursue the British and expel them from the soil of India.

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Revolutionary armies everywhere in the world have to fight under conditions similar to ours but they, nevertheless, triumph at the end. Their strength does not come from beer and rum, tinned-pork and bully-beef—but from faith and sacrifice, heroism and fortitude.

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It is only the blood of the enemy that can avenge his crimes of the past. But we can take blood, only if

we are prepared to give blood. Consequently, our programme for the future is to give blood. The blood of our heroes in this war will wash away our sins of the past. The blood of our heroes will be the price of our liberty. The blood of our heroes—their heroism and their bravery—will secure for the Indian people the revenge that they demand of their British tyrants and oppressors.

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A leopard cannot change its spots. The liar cannot stop lying even if he knows that he is no longer trusted. He hopes against hope that there are still enough fools in this world who could be taken in. Consequently, I am not surprised that the British are continuing their game of lying and bluffing.

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A new stunt is that Islam is persecuted here, that we are anti-Muslims. You know what falsehood that is. We have Muslims in the Provisional Government, in the I.I.L. and in the Fauj. Muslim officers in our Fauj are not nobodies. They are sons of distinguished families who took their education in the Military Academy at Dehra Dun. No, their lies cannot affect us. Nor will the world believe them.

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If that (Gandhiji's) plan succeeds, our plan and our activities would become superfluous and redundant. None would be happier than myself in that event.

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We have received our baptism of fire. A body of ex-civilians who were ordered to withdraw when the ammunition was exhausted, preferred not to withdraw, and with fixed bayonets they charged the enemy. They came back victorious.

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....But the Goddess of Liberty is not yet appeased. I shall tell you the secret of pleasing her. Today she demands not merely fighters, soldiers for the Fauj. Today she demands rebels—men rebels and women rebels—who will be prepared to join Suicide Squads—for whom death is a certainty—rebels who will be ready to drown the enemy in the streams of blood that shall flow from their own body.

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Being a born optimist, my unshakable faith in India's early emancipation remains unimpaired and I appeal to you to cherish the same optimism.

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I have always said that the darkest hour precedes the dawn. We are now passing through the darkest hour; therefore, the dawn is not far off. **INDIA SHALL BE FREE.**

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Comrades! At this critical hour, I have only one word of command to give you, and that is that if you have to go down temporarily, then go down as heroes; go down upholding the highest code of honour and discipline. The future generations of Indians who will be born, not as slaves but as freemen, because of your colossal sacrifice, will bless your names and proudly proclaim to the world that you, their forebears, fought and lost the battle in Manipur, Assam and Burma, but through temporary failure you paved the way to ultimate success and glory.

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## I INDIA'S DELIVERANCE

"Britain's paid propagandists have been calling me an enemy agent. I need no credentials when I speak to my own people. My whole life is one long persistent, uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism, and is the best guarantee of my *bona fides*. . . All my life I have been the servant of India. Until the last hour of my life I shall remain one. My allegiance and loyalty have ever been and will ever be to India alone, no matter in which part of the world I may live."

In spite of British propaganda it should be clear to all right-thinking Indians that in this wide world India has but one enemy, the enemy who has exploited her for over a hundred years, the enemy who sucks the life-blood of Mother India, British Imperialism. . . .

I am not an apologist of the Tripartite Powers; that is not my job. My concern is with India. . . . When British Imperialism is defeated, India will get her freedom. If, on the other hand, British Imperialism should somehow win the war, then India's slavery would be perpetuated for ever. India is therefore presented with the choice between freedom and slavery. She must make her choice. . . .



Britain's paid propagandists have been calling me an enemy agent. I need no credentials when I speak to my own people. My whole life is one long persistent, uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism, and is the best guarantee of my *bona fides*. . . . All my life I have been the servant of India. Until the last hour of my life I shall remain one. My allegiance and loyalty have ever been and will ever be to India alone, no matter in which part of the world I may live. . . .

If you make a dispassionate and objective study of different theatres of war today, you will come to the same conclusion as myself—that nothing on earth can prevent the rapid collapse of the British Empire. . . . Already the outposts in the Indian Ocean have passed out of the hands of British sea power. . . . Mandalay has fallen and Allied troops are practically expelled from Burmese soil. . . .

Countrymen, when the British Empire is disappearing, the day of India's deliverance approaches. I want to remind you that in the year 1857 began India's first War of Independence. In May, 1942, has begun her last War of Independence. Gird up your loins. The hour of India's salvation is at hand. . . .

Azad Hind! To fight and win India's liberty, and then build up in India, with full freedom to determine her own future—with

no interference! Free India will have a social order based on the eternal principles of Justice, Equality and Fraternity. . . .

[ *Broadcast from Berlin,—MAY 1942.* ]



## II DAWN OF FREEDOM

“British Imperialism has meant for India moral degradation, cultural ruin, economic impoverishment and political enslavement.”

During the last World War our leaders had been bluffed and deceived by the wily British politicians. That was why we took the vow more than twenty years ago never again to be deceived by them.

For more than twenty years my generation has striven for freedom and eagerly awaited the hour that has now struck,—the hour that is for the Indian people the dawn of freedom.

We know very well such an opportunity will not come again for another hundred years and we are therefore determined to make the fullest use of it.

British Imperialism has meant for India moral degradation, cultural ruin, economic impoverishment and political enslavement. . . .

It is our duty to pay for our liberty with our own blood. The freedom that we shall win, through our sacrifice and exertions, we shall be able to preserve with our own strength.

The enemy that has drawn the sword must be fought with the sword. Civil

disobedience must develop into armed struggle. And only when the Indian people receive the baptism of fire on a large scale will they qualify for their freedom. . . .

[ *Statement to Press in Tokyo*,—JUNE 20, 1943. ]



### III MIDSUMMER MADNESS

“The British Empire has grown out of India. The British people know, no matter to which political party they belong, that they need to reap all the resources of India. To them empire means India. They are now fighting madly to preserve that empire. Consequently, no matter what fate besets Britain during the course of this war, the Englishman will endeavour to the very last to keep his empire,—that is, to hold on to India.”

So far as India is concerned what is most important to all of us is the situation near India.

During the whole history of the British in India, it had not struck one single British General that at any stage in the future, some enemy of the British might appear on the Eastern Frontier of India. The whole attention of Britain's military strategists has therefore been concentrated on the North-West Frontier of India. . . .

With the naval fortress of Singapore in their possession, our rulers thought that India was safe in their hands. The dynamic advance of Generals Yamashita and Ida opened the eyes of the world to the worthlessness of British strategy. . . .

Since then General Wavell has been

making feverish attempts to put up fortifications on the Eastern Frontier of India. But what the Indian people are asking is this : If it took them almost twenty years to build Singapore, and only one week to lose it, how long will it take the British C.-in-C. or his successor to withdraw from his fortifications ?

To us Indians, what is of primary importance is not what is happening at Tunis, Timbuctoo or in Lampedusa or Alaska, but what is happening inside India and across our frontier.

What is of primary importance to us is that the much advertised reconquest of Burma has ended in a shameful retreat. . . .

Even the fall of Singapore, and the loss of Burma, the greatest disasters in British military history could not bring about any appreciable change. British Imperialism remains inexorable. Men may come and men may go, empires may come and empires may go, but British Imperialism goes on for ever,—that is what our rulers continue to think. . . .

You may call it lack of statesmanship or political bankruptcy, or midsummer madness. But this midsummer madness has its own explanation.

The British Empire has grown out of India. The British people know, no matter to which political party they belong, that they need to reap all the resources of India.



To them empire means India. They are now fighting madly to preserve that empire. Consequently, no matter what fate besets Britain during the course of this war, the Englishman will endeavour to the very last to keep his empire,—that is, to hold on to India.

Therefore, if I may speak frankly, I would say that it is not midsummer madness that British politicians refuse to recognise India's independence though they are in a terrible plight; it is midsummer madness that we should expect the Englishman voluntarily to give up his empire. . . . No Indian should ever cherish the illusion that one day England will be induced to recognise India's independence.

But that is not to say that British politicians will never again compromise with India.

Personally, I expect another such attempt some time this year. But what I want to point out, my countrymen, is that by compromise the British politicians will never recognise India's independence, but will only try to bluff the Indian people.

Protracted negotiations are planned to side-track the campaign for independence and thereby undermine the national will, as they did between December, 1941, and April, 1942. . . .

Therefore, we should, once and for all, give up hope of any compromise with British

Imperialism. Our independence admits of no compromises. Freedom is only won when the British and their allies quit India for good. And those who really want liberty must fight for it and pay for it with their own blood. . . .

Countrymen and Friends, let us therefore carry on the fight for liberty, inside India and outside India, with all our strength and vigour. Let us continue the battle with unshakable faith till the day that British Imperialism will be broken up and out of its ashes India will once again emerge an independent nation.

In this struggle there is no going back, and there can be no faltering. We must march onward and forward till victory is achieved and freedom won.

[ *Broadcast from Tokyo, —JUNE 21, 1943.* ]



## IV CLARION CALL

“India shall be free,—and before long. And a free India will throw open the prison gates, so that her worthy sons may step out of the darkness of the prison cells into the light of freedom.”

Some of my countrymen have been expecting that under the pressure of an international crisis, the imperialistic powers like Britain might be induced to recognise the independence of enslaved countries like India, but all such expectations have been completely misplaced. . . .

You are aware that towards the end of 1940, since I saw that Mahatma Gandhi had at long last launched civil disobedience campaign, I felt that the honour and prestige of Indian people had been vindicated, and it was necessary to plan the Indian Revolution on a larger scale and in an effective manner in order to bring it to fruition. Today I am in a position to announce to you that all these objectives have been fully achieved. We know the international situation at first hand and we are therefore convinced of our ultimate victory. . . .

All Indians outside India who are not living in countries directly under the control

of our enemies, have now been brought together into one well-built organisation. They are following closely developments inside India and on the other hand they are keeping unimpeded contact with international events. They are making all possible preparations to bring at the right time the maximum assistance to you who have been carrying on the struggle at home in spite of internment, persecution and brutality.

Friends, you may remember that I have in the past assured you more than once that when the hour strikes I, and many others like myself, will be by your side to share the glory of fighting and suffering side by side, and share with you the joy of victory as well. . . . We are now fulfilling that pledge. . . .

India shall be free,—and before long. And a free India will throw open the prison gates, so that her worthy sons may step out of the darkness of the prison cells into the light of freedom.

[ *Broadcast from Tokyo*,—JUNE 24, 1943. ]



## OUR NATIONAL HONOUR

“The task of liberating India is ours, and ours alone. That responsibility we shall not cast on anybody else because that would be against our national honour.”

The task of liberating India is ours, and ours alone. That responsibility we shall not cast on anybody else because that would be against our national honour.

But the enemy is ruthless and desperate and he is armed to the teeth. Against such a foe, no amount of civil disobedience, or sabotage, or revolutionary terrorism can be of any avail. If, therefore, we want to expel British Power from India, we have to fight the enemy with his own weapons. The enemy has already drawn the sword—he must therefore be fought with the sword.

I am confident that with the help of my countrymen in East Asia I shall be able to organise a gigantic force which will be able to sweep away British Power from India. . . . The hour has struck, and every Indian must advance towards the field of battle. When the blood of freedom-loving Indians begins to flow, India will attain her freedom.

[*Appeal to the East Asia Indians*,—JUNE 29, 1943.]

## VI YOUR AND MY BURDEN

“With discipline, we must be ready for every sacrifice. Let each man be ready to work. I bring you enough work. Work—work—and work—that is your and my burden.”

Do you believe that I have brains enough not to be fooled by them? Then trust my word when I assure you that I am sure Japs cannot double-cross us. They can only do that if we do not organise properly, if we fail in raising a proper army of Indians to fight for our freedom. We shall have to be awake and alive, on our guard,—not only against the enemy British Imperialism, against the imperialistically-inclined Japanese bureaucrats, but also against Indians in our own ranks. With discipline, we must be ready for every sacrifice. Let each man be ready to work. I bring you enough work. Work—work—and work—that is your and my burden.

[ *Reply to some irrepressible one who insisted on casting doubts on Jap reliability,—JULY 2, 1943.* ]



## VII

### FINAL MARCH TO FREEDOM

"I can assure everybody once again that whatever we have done up till now, or may do in future, has been and will be for the freedom of India, and we shall never do anything that is either against the interests of India or will not be in accordance with the will of our people."

Friends! The time has now come for freedom-loving Indians to act. Action in a War-crisis demands, above all, military discipline, as well as unflinching loyalty to the cause. I, therefore, call upon all my countrymen in East Asia to line up in one solid phalanx and prepare for the grim fight that is ahead of us. I am confident that they will do so. . . .

I have publicly declared several times that when I left homeland in 1941, on an important mission, it was in accordance with the will of the vast majority of my countrymen. Since then, despite all the restrictions imposed by the C.I.D.I., have remained in constant touch with my countrymen at home. . . .

Patriotic Indians abroad have been working as genuine trustees of the freedom-fighters at home. I can assure everybody once again that whatever we have done up till now, or may do in future, has

been and will be for the freedom of India, and we shall never do anything that is either against the interests of India or will not be in accordance with the will of our people. . . .

In order to mobilise all our forces effectively, I intend organising a Provisional Government of Free India. . . . By winning freedom through our own efforts and sacrifice, we shall be acquiring the strength whereby we shall preserve our liberty for all time. . . . I warn you that though we are absolutely sure of our final victory, we can never afford to under-estimate the enemy, and we should even be prepared for temporary setbacks. We have a grim fight ahead of us—for the enemy is at once powerful, unscrupulous and ruthless. In this final march to freedom, you will have to face hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. Only when you pass this test, will freedom be yours. I am confident that you will do so and thereby bring freedom and prosperity to your enslaved and impoverished land. . . .

[ *Speech at the inaugural session of the Syanon Conference in Singapore, —JULY 4, 1943.* ]



## VIII DILLI CHALO

"How many of us will individually survive this war of freedom, I do not know. But I do know this, that we shall ultimately win and our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the Victory-parade on another graveyard of the British Empire—the Lal Killa of Ancient Delhi."

Soldiers of India's Army of Liberation! Today is the proudest day of my life. Today it has pleased Providence to give me the unique honour of announcing to the whole world that India's Army of Liberation has come into being. This Army has now been drawn up in military formation on the battlefield of Singapore, which was once the bulwark of the British Empire. This is the Army that will emancipate India from British yoke. . . . Every Indian must feel proud that this Indian Army has been organised entirely under Indian leadership, and that when the historic moment arrives, under Indian leadership it will go into battle. . . . Standing today on the graveyard of the British Empire, even a child is convinced that the almighty British Empire is already a thing of the past. . . .

Comrades! My soldiers! Let your battle cry be: *Dilli Chalo*. How many of us will individually survive this

war of freedom, I do not know. But I do know this, that we shall ultimately win and our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the Victory-parade on another graveyard of the British Empire—the Lal Killa of Ancient Delhi. . . .

Throughout my public career, I have always felt that though India is otherwise ripe for independence in every way, she lacks one thing: an army of liberation. George Washington of America could fight and win freedom, because he had his army. Garibaldi could liberate Italy because he had his armed volunteers behind him. It is your privilege and honour to be the first to come forward and organise India's National Army. . . . Soldiers who always remain faithful to their nation, who perform their duty under all circumstances, and who are always prepared to sacrifice their lives, are invincible. Engrave these three ideals in the inmost core of your hearts.

Comrades! You are today the custodians of India's national honour and the embodiment of India's hopes and aspirations. So conduct yourselves that your countrymen may bless you and posterity may be proud of you. I assure you that I shall be with you in darkness and in sunshine, in sorrow and in joy, in suffering and in victory. For the present, I can offer you nothing except hunger, thirst, suffering, forced marches and death. It does not matter who among us



will live to see India free. It is enough that India shall be free and that we shall give our all to make her free. May God now bless our Army and grant us victory in the coming fight!

[ *Address to the soldiers at the Military Review in front of the Town Hall, Singapore,—JULY 5, 1943.* ]

## IX

### MY OBJECT IN LEAVING INDIA

“The time has come when I can openly tell the whole world including our enemies, as to how it is proposed to bring about national liberation. Indians outside India, particularly Indians in East Asia, are going to organise a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British Army in India. When we do so, a revolution will break out, not only among the civil population at home, but also among the Indian Army which is now standing under the British Flag. When the British Government is thus attacked from both sides—from inside India and from outside—it will collapse, and the Indian people will then regain their liberty.”

I would like to tell you quite frankly what made me leave home and homeland, on a journey that was fraught with danger of every kind. I was lodged safely in a British prison, when I silently resolved to risk everything in the attempt to escape from the clutches of the British. Having been in prison eleven times, it was much easier and much safer for me to continue there, but I felt that the cause of India's independence demanded a journey abroad, regardless of the risk that it involved.

It took me full three months of prayer and meditation to decide if I had strength enough to face death in fulfilling my duty.



Before I could slip out of India, I had to get out of prison—and in order to do so, I had to go on hunger-strike, demanding my release. I knew that neither in India, nor in Ireland, had a prisoner succeeded in forcing the British Government to release him. I knew also that Terence Macswiney and Jatin Das had died in the attempt to force the Government's hands. But I felt convinced that I had an historic task to fulfil. So I took the plunge, and after seven days of hunger-strike, the Government unexpectedly got unnerved and set me free, with the intention of taking me back to prison again after a month or two. But before they could seize me again, I became a freeman. . . .

Friends! You know that I have been actively working in the independence movement ever since I left the university in 1921. I have been through all the civil disobedience campaigns during the last two decades. In addition to this, I have been repeatedly put in prison without trial, on the suspicion of having been connected with secret revolutionary movements—whether non-violent or violent. . . . In the light of this experience, I came to the conclusion that all the efforts that we could put forward inside India, would not suffice to expel the British from our country. . . .

To put it briefly, therefore, my object in leaving India was to supplement from



outside the struggle going on at home. . . . On the other hand, the supplementary help from outside which the national struggle at home so urgently needs is in reality very small. The help that our countrymen at home needed and still need is a twofold one: moral and material. Firstly, they have to be morally convinced that their victory is assured. Secondly, they have to be given military help from outside. . . .

The time has come when I can openly tell the whole world including our enemies, as to how it is proposed to bring about national liberation. Indians outside India, particularly Indians in East Asia, are going to organise a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British Army in India. When we do so, a revolution will break out, not only among the civil population at home, but also among the Indian Army which is now standing under the British Flag. When the British Government is thus attacked from both sides—from inside India and from outside—it will collapse, and the Indian people will then regain their liberty. According to my plan, therefore, it is not even necessary to bother about the attitude of the Axis Powers towards India. If Indians outside and inside India will do their duty, it is possible for the Indian people to throw the British out of India and liberate 388 millions of their country-



men. . . . Friends, let the slogan of the three million Indians in East Asia be: "Total Mobilisation for a Total War." . . . . Out of this total mobilisation, I expect at least three lakh soldiers and three crores of dollars. I want also a unit of brave Indian women to form a death-defying regiment who will wield the sword which the brave Rani of Jhansi wielded in India's First War of Independence in 1857. . . . .

Our countrymen at home are now hard-pressed and they are demanding a Second Front. Give me total mobilisation in East Asia and I promise you a second front—a real second front for the Indian struggle.

[*Speech at a huge mass rally at the Padang in front of the Municipal Offices, Singapore,—*  
JULY 9, 1943.]

## X TO SISTERS

“If there is any one either here or elsewhere who thinks that it is an unwomanly act to shoulder a rifle, I would ask her to turn to the pages of our history. What had our brave women done in past? What did the brave Rani of Jhansi do in the Revolution of 1857, India's First War of Independence. It was this queen who with drawn sword on horseback led her men to battle. Through our ill-luck she fell, she failed, and India failed. But we have to continue and complete the work which the Great Rani undertook in 1857.”

Sisters,—You all know, as well as I do, the part our women at home have played in the Freedom Movement, especially during the last twenty-two years, since the year 1921, when the Congress was reborn under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. It is not only in connection with the Congress movement of Civil Disobedience, but also in connection with the secret revolutionary movement, that our sisters have played a noble part.... In fact, it will be no exaggeration for me to say that there is no sphere of public activity, there is no department of national endeavour, in which Indian women have not gladly and bravely shared, along with our men, the burden of our national struggle. Whether



it is touring from village to village without food and drink, whether it is lecturing at one meeting after another, whether it is carrying the Freedom-message from door to door, whether it is running election campaigns or whether it is leading processions along public streets in defiance of official orders and in spite of lathi charges by the inhuman British Police, or whether it is facing bravely imprisonment and persecution, insult and humiliation, nowhere have our women been found wanting. Our brave sisters have also played a prominent part in the secret revolutionary movement. They have shown that when the need arises they could, like their brothers, shoot very well. . . . . If today I express my fullest confidence in you, it is because I know what our women are capable of, and therefore I say without the slightest exaggeration, that there is no suffering, which our sisters are not capable of enduring.

History teaches us that every empire has its fall just as it has its rise. And the time has come for the British Empire to disappear from the face of this world. We see with our own eyes how that Empire has disappeared from this part of the world. It shall disappear from another part of the world, from India, as well. . . .

If there is any one either here or elsewhere who thinks that it is an unwomanly act to shoulder a rifle, I would ask her

to turn to the pages of our history. What had our brave women done in past? What did the brave Rani of Jhansi do in the Revolution of 1857, India's First War of Independence. It was this queen who with drawn sword on horseback led her men to battle. Through our ill-luck she fell, she failed, and India failed. But we have to continue and complete the work which the Great Rani undertook in 1857.....

Therefore in the last and final War of Independence we want not one Rani of Jhansi, but thousands and thousands of Ranis of Jhansi. It is not the number of rifles you may carry or the number of shots you may fire which is important. Equally important is the moral effect of your brave example.

[ *Speech at a mass meeting of Indian women convened by the Women's Section of the Indian Independence League,—JULY 12, 1943.* ]



## XI NEED OF A SECOND FRONT

"Let the whole world know, and let our enemies know, that all Indians in East Asia are united regardless of religion or caste and they are determined to fight for the freedom of their common Motherland."

A year has rolled by since Mahatma Gandhi was put in prison for the crime of demanding the withdrawal of the British from India. Since then the civil disobedience movement as well as sabotage activities have gone on with unabated vigour. But we have not won freedom. And we shall not win freedom till we put up a second front on the Indo-Burma frontier and call upon the Indian people and the British Indian Army to take up arms against the British and their allies in India. . . .

It is today a very great pleasure for me to see so many of my Muslim countrymen in this gathering of ours. I thank them heartily for the welcome they have given me and for the handsome purse they have offered for the Indian Independence Movement. . . . And let the whole world know, and let our enemies know, that all Indians in East Asia are united regardless of religion or caste and they are determined

to fight for the freedom of their common Motherland.

[ *Speech at the Farrer Park, Singapore,—*  
AUGUST 15, 1943. ]



## XII OUR TASK

“In the coming struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland, . . . . the Azad Hind Fauj has a vital role to play. To fulfil this role, we must weld ourselves into an army that will have only one goal—Freedom of India,—and only one will—to do or die in the cause of India’s freedom. When we stand, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a wall of granite ; when we march, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a steam-roller.”

In the interest of the Indian Independence Movement and of the Azad Hind Fauj, I have taken over the direct command of our Army from this day.

This is for me a matter of joy and pride—for an Indian there can be no greater honour than to be the Commander of India’s Army of Liberation. . . .

I regard myself as the servant of thirty-eight crores of my countrymen. I am determined to discharge my duties in such a manner that the interests of these thirty-eight crores may be safe and that every single Indian will have reason to put complete trust in me. It is only on the basis of undiluted nationalism and of perfect justice and impartiality that India’s Army of Liberation can be built up.

In the coming struggle for the emancipa-

tion of our Motherland, . . . . the Azad Hind Fauj has a vital role to play. To fulfil this role, we must weld ourselves into an army that will have only one goal—Freedom of India,—and only one will—to do or die in the cause of India's freedom. When we stand, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a wall of granite ; when we march, the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a steam-roller.

Our task is not an easy one ; the war will be long and hard, but I have complete faith in the invincibility of our cause. Thirty-eight crores of human beings, who form about one-fifth of the human race, have a right to be free, and they are now prepared to pay the price of freedom. There is consequently no power on earth that can deprive us of our birthright of liberty any longer. . . .

Comrades ! Our work has already begun. With the slogan "Onward to Delhi" on our lips, let us continue to labour and to fight till our National Flag flies over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi, and the Azad Hind Fauj holds its Victory Parade inside the ancient Red Fortress of India's Metropolis.

[ *Special Order of the Day*,—AUGUST 25, 1943. ]



### XIII

## THANKS TO THIS WAR

“Malaya is dotted with camps, and many of these camps were formerly camps of the British Army. They have been turned over to us for our use. That reminds me that when we go to India, we shall also find ready-made barracks for our national army. We won't have to build new barracks. From Calcutta to Bombay, and from Rawalpindi to Madras, there are splendid barracks, not for the Indian Army but for the British Tommy,—but these splendid barracks are going to be taken for our Indian National Army, and I promise to give the British in return all the prisons for their use.”

The days of minimum sacrifice are over. The time has come when each and every one of us has to think of the maximum sacrifice. . . . and that sacrifice has to be in human life, in money and in other resources which are necessary in order to equip a modern army.

So long as peace reigned all over the world, it was practically impossible for the Indian people to get arms and fight with arms. It was impossible for the people inside India. It was also impossible for people outside India. But thanks to this war, what was impossible four or five years ago has today become possible. If you want

arms, you can get them not inside but outside India. If you want to build up a modern army and equip it with all the modern weapons, you can do so today. That is why I say this war has been a God-sent opportunity to us. It has given us a unique opportunity for achieving, not Dominion Status or Colonial Self-government, but full and complete independence. . . .

I congratulate you that you have in the heart of Kuala Lumpur one of our camps where Indian young men are trained for the coming fight for freedom. . . . Malaya is dotted with camps, and many of these camps were formerly camps of the British Army. They have been turned over to us for our use. That reminds me that when we go to India, we shall also find ready-made barracks for our national army. We won't have to build new barracks. From Calcutta to Bombay, and from Rawalpindi to Madras, there are splendid barracks, not for the Indian Army but for the British Tommy,—but these splendid barracks are going to be taken for our Indian National Army, and I promise to give the British in return all the prisons for their use.

*[Speech at Kuala Lumpur,—SEPTEMBER 6, 1943.]*



XIV  
AT THE MAUSOLEUM OF  
BAHADUR SHAH

“As long as the last particle of faith exists in the souls of India's freedom-fighters, the sword of India shall continue to penetrate the heart of London.

*Ghaziyon men bu rahegi jab talak iman ki,  
Tab to London tak chalegi tegh Hindostan ki.”*

It is perhaps strange, may be a lucky coincidence of history, that while the remains of India's last Emperor rest on the soil of Burma, the remains of the last King of Free Burma now rest on the soil of India.

We express our unshakable determination before a sacred memorial, before the mortal remains of the last fighter for India's freedom, the man who was an Emperor among men and a man among Emperors.... Now when we are engaged in the last war for India's independence, it is all the more necessary for us to renew our unshakable determination to fight this last war for independence to a finish, regardless of all sufferings and sacrifices, regardless of all difficulties in our path, regardless of the length of this war—so that at long last the enemy, the common enemy of Burma and India, will be finally over-

thrown and we will be free not only within our homes, but free as comrades marching shoulder to shoulder fulfilling the common destiny of mankind.

And now I shall close these few remarks by quoting the English meaning of a couplet which was composed by Bahadur Shah himself, "As long as the last particle of faith exists in the souls of India's freedom-fighters, the sword of India shall continue to penetrate the heart of London.

*"Ghaziyon men bu rahegi jab talak  
iman ki,  
Tab to London tak chalegi tegh  
Hindustan ki."*

[*Speech at the Mausoleum of Bahadur Shah in  
Rangoon,—SEPTEMBER 28, 1943.*]



## XV

### THE PLACE OF MAHATMAJI

“When Mahatma Gandhi commended his non-co-operation programme to the Indian nation at the annual session of the Congress at Nagpur in December, 1920, he said: ‘If India had the sword today, she would have drawn the sword.’ And proceeding further Mahatmaji said that since armed revolution was out of the question, the only other alternative before the country was that of Non-co-operation or Satyagraha. Since then times have changed and it is now possible for the Indian people to draw the sword.”

I shall devote myself to an estimation of the place of Mahatmaji in the history of India's struggle for independence. The service which Mahatma Gandhi has rendered to India and to the cause of India's freedom is so unique and unparalleled that his name will be written in letters of gold in our national history for all time to come. . . .

When the last World War was over and Indian leaders began to demand the liberty that had been promised to them, they discovered for the first time that they had been betrayed by perfidious Albion. The reply to their demand came in the form of the Rowlatt Act in 1919, which deprived them of what little liberty they

still possessed. And when they protested against that Black Act, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre followed. For all the sacrifices made by the Indian people during the last World War, the two rewards were the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. . . .

After the tragic events of 1919, Indians were stunned and paralysed for the time being. All the attempts for achieving liberty had been ruthlessly crushed by the British and their armed forces. Constitutional agitation, boycott of British goods, armed revolution, all had alike failed to bring freedom. There was not a ray of hope left, and the Indian people were groping in the dark for a new method and a new weapon of struggle. Just at this psychological moment, Gandhiji appeared on the scene with his novel method of Non-cooperation or Satyagraha or Civil Disobedience. It appeared as if he had been sent by Providence to show the path to liberty. Immediately and spontaneously the whole nation rallied round his banner. India was saved. Every Indian's face was now lit up with hope and confidence. Ultimate victory was once again assured. . .

For twenty years and more Mahatma Gandhi has worked for India's salvation, and with him the Indian people have worked.

It is no exaggeration to say that if in 1920 he had not come forward with



his new weapon of struggle, India today would perhaps have been still prostrate. His services to the cause of India's freedom are unique and unparalleled. No single man could have achieved more in a single lifetime under similar circumstances. The nearest historical parallel to Mahatma Gandhi is perhaps Mustapha Kemal, who saved Turkey after her defeat in the last World War, and who was then acclaimed by the Turks as the 'Ghazi'.

Since 1920 the Indian people have learnt two things from Mahatma Gandhi, which are the indispensable preconditions for the attainment of independence. They have, first of all, learnt national self-respect and self-confidence as a result of which, revolutionary fervour is now blazing in their hearts. Secondly, they have now got a country-wide organisation which reaches the remotest village of India. . . .

Mahatma Gandhi has firmly planted our feet on the straight road to liberty. He and other leaders are now rotting behind prison bars. The task that Mahatma Gandhi began, has therefore to be accomplished by his countrymen at home and abroad. . . .

I would like to remind you that when Mahatma Gandhi commended his non-cooperation programme to the Indian nation at the annual session of the Congress at Nagpur in December, 1920, he said: "If

India had the sword today, she would have drawn the sword." And proceeding further Mahatmaji said that since armed revolution was out of the question, the only other alternative before the country was that of Non-co-operation or Satyagraha. Since then times have changed and it is now possible for the Indian people to draw the sword. We are happy and proud that India's Army of Liberation has already come into existence, and is steadily increasing in numbers. . . .

[ *Speech at the seventy-fifth birthday celebrations of Mahatma Gandhi,—OCTOBER 2, 1943.* ]



## XVI

### OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

“I, Subhas Chandra Bose, will continue this sacred war of freedom till the last breath of my life.”

In the name of God, I take this sacred oath that to liberate India and the thirty-eight crores of my countrymen, I, Subhas Chandra Bose, will continue this sacred war of freedom till the last breath of my life.

I shall always remain a servant of India and look after the welfare of thirty-eight crores of Indian brothers and sisters. This shall be for me my highest duty.

Even after winning freedom, I will always be prepared to shed the last drop of my blood for the preservation of India's freedom.

[ *Oath of Allegiance taken at a historic conference convened by the Indian Independence League at the Dai Toa Gekijo, Singapore,—OCTOBER 21, 1943.* ]

## XVII PROCLAMATION

"The Provisional Government is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien Government in the past."

After their first defeat at the hands of the British in 1757 in Bengal, the Indian people fought an uninterrupted series of hard and bitter battles over a stretch of one hundred years. The history of this period teems with examples of unparalleled heroism and self-sacrifice. And in the pages of that history, the names of Siraj-ud-doula and Mohanlal of Bengal, Haidar Ali, Tippu Sultan and Velu Thampi of South India, Appa Sahib Bhonsle and Peshwa Baji Rao of Maharashtra, the Begums of Oudh, Sardar Shyam Singh Attariwala of Punjab, and last but not least, Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Maharaj Kunwar Singh of Dumraon and Nana Sahib are for ever engraved in letters of gold. Unfortunately for us, our forefathers did not at first realise that the British constituted a grave threat



to the whole of India, and they did not therefore put up a united front against the enemy. Ultimately, when the Indian people were roused to the reality of the situation, they made a concerted move and under the flag of Bahadur Shah in 1857 they fought their last war as freemen. . . .

Forcibly disarmed by the British after 1857 and subjected to terror and brutality, the Indian people lay prostrate for a while, but with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885, there came a new awakening. From 1885 till the end of the last World War, the Indian people, in their endeavour to recover their lost liberty, tried all possible methods—namely, agitation and propaganda, boycott of British goods, terrorism and sabotage, and finally, armed revolution. But all these efforts failed for a time. Ultimately in 1920, when the Indian people, hunted by a sense of failure, were groping for a new method, Mahatma Gandhi came forward with the new weapon of non-co-operation and civil disobedience. . . .

Thus, the Indian people not only recovered their political consciousness, but became a political entity once again. They could now speak with one voice and strive with one will for one common goal. From 1937 to 1939, through the work of the Congress Ministries in eight provinces, they gave proof of their capacity to administer their own affairs. Thus, on the eve of the



present World War, the stage is set for the final struggle for India's liberation. . . .

Having goaded Indians to desperation by its hypocrisy, and having driven them to starvation and death by plunder and loot, British rule in India has forfeited the goodwill of the Indian people altogether and is now living a precarious existence. It needs but a flame to destroy the last vestige of that unhappy rule. To light that flame is the task of India's Army of Liberation. . . .

Now that the dawn of freedom is at hand, it is the duty of the Indian people to set up a Provisional Government of their own, and launch the last struggle under the banner of that Government. But with all the Indian leaders in prison and the people at home totally disarmed, it is not possible to set up a Provisional Government within India or to launch an armed struggle under the aegis of that Government. It is therefore the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, supported by all patriotic Indians at home and abroad, to undertake this task—the task of setting up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India), and of conducting the last fight for Freedom, with the help of the Azad Hind Fauj organised by the League. . . .

The Provisional Government is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty



as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien Government in the past.

In the name of God, in the name of by-gone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation, and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice—we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and to strike for India's freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and their allies in India and to prosecute that struggle with valour and perseverance and with full faith in final Victory—until the enemy is expelled from Indian soil and the Indian people are once again a Free Nation.

[ *Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Free India made at a historic conference convened by the Indian Independence League at Dai Toa Gejiko, Singapore,—OCTOBER 21, 1943.* ]

## XVIII SETTING UP THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

"You are aware that on behalf of our League, I made a free and unconditional offer of one hundred thousand tons of rice for our starving countrymen at home as a first instalment. Not only was this offer not accepted by the British authorities in India—but we were given only abuse in return."

During the last few months, the situation inside India has been developing in a manner favourable to our cause, though it has meant more and more suffering for the people.

The political unrest in India has been greatly accentuated by the famine conditions prevailing in several parts of India—and particularly in Bengal. There can be no doubt that these famine conditions have been largely due to the policy of ruthless exploitation of India's food and other resources for Britain's war purposes over a period of nearly four years. You are aware that on behalf of our League, I made a free and unconditional offer of one hundred thousand tons of rice for our starving countrymen at home as a first instalment. Not only was this offer not accepted by the British authorities in India—but we were given only abuse in return.



You are probably aware that since July last, I have toured more than once in the mainland of Malaya, in Thailand, in Burma and in Indo-China. The enthusiasm among our countrymen that I have met with everywhere has not only been encouraging, but has added greatly to my feelings of confidence and optimism. . . .

I would like to inform you also that we have been planning and preparing, not only for the coming struggle, but also for post-war reconstruction. We can visualise the condition that we shall find at home when the Anglo-Americans and their allies are expelled from our country. We have therefore set up a Reconstruction Department in our headquarters, where the problems of post-war reconstruction are being studied. People are now being trained for work of rapid reconstruction within India, simultaneously with the progress of military operations. In short, we are not leaving anything undone in our preparation for the coming fight for freedom and for the task that we shall have to undertake thereafter.

It would naturally have been the best thing if a Government had been constituted inside India, and if that Government had launched the last struggle for liberty. But things being what they are in India, and all the known and recognised leaders being in prison, it is hopeless to expect the

formation of a Provisional Government within the frontiers of India. It is equally hopeless to expect the last fight for freedom to be organised or initiated within the country. It is consequently for the Indians in East Asia to undertake this solemn task.

There is not the slightest doubt in our minds that when we cross the Indian frontier with our Army and hoist our National Flag on Indian soil, the real revolution will break out within the country—the revolution that will ultimately bring about the end of British rule in India. . . .

The creation of a National Army has lent reality and seriousness to the whole Independence Movement in East Asia. If this Army had not been organised, the Independence League in East Asia would have been a mere propaganda organ. With the creation of the National Army, it became possible as well as necessary, to set up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India). The Government is born out of the Independence League for the purpose of launching and directing the final struggle for India's freedom. . . .

In setting up this Provisional Government we are, on the one hand, meeting the exigencies of the Indian situation, and are, on the other, following in the footsteps of history. In recent times, the Irish people set up their Provisional Government in



1916. The Czechs did the same during the last World War. The Turks, under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal, set up their Provisional Government in Anatolia . . . .

[ *Speech at Singapore*,—OCTOBER 21, 1943.]

## XIX TO SISTERS AGAIN

"Our past has been a great and glorious one. India could not have produced a heroine like the Rani of Jhansi if she did not have a glorious tradition. In the same way as we have figures like Maitreyi in India's ancient days, we have the inspiring examples of Ahalyabai of Maharashtra, Rani Bhawani of Bengal, Razya Begum and Noor Jehan, who were shining administrators in recent historic times prior to British rule in India. I have every confidence in the fertility of the Indian soil. I am confident that India, as in the past, will surely produce the best flowers of Indian womanhood."

Sisters,—The opening of the Rani Jhansi Regiment Training Camp is an important landmark in the progress of our Movement in East Asia.

We are engaged in the great task of regenerating our nation. And it is only in the fitness of things that there should be a stir of New Life among our womenfolk....

Our past has been a great and glorious one. India could not have produced a heroine like the Rani of Jhansi if she did not have a glorious tradition. In the same way as we have figures like Maitreyi in India's ancient days, we have the inspiring examples of Ahalyabai of Maharashtra, Rani Bhawani of Bengal, Razya Begum and Noor Jehan, who were shining administrators in recent historic times prior to British rule in India. I have every confidence in the fertility of the India soil. I am



confident that India, as in the past, will surely produce the best flowers of Indian womanhood. . . .

I may at this juncture say a few words about the Rani of Jhansi. When the Rani of Jhansi started her fight, her age was only twenty. You can easily imagine what it meant for a girl of twenty to ride a horse, and wield her sword in open battle. You can easily realise what courage and spirit she must have had. The English Commander who fought against her said: "She was the best and bravest of the rebels." First she fought from the Jhansi Fort, and when the fort was besieged, she escaped with a party to Kalpi from where she put up a fight. When she had to retreat from this battle-front, she made an alliance with Tantia Topi, attacked and captured Gwalior Fort, and using that fort as the base she continued the battle, and in this last and great battle she died fighting.

Unfortunately, Jhansi Rani was defeated. It was not her defeat; it was the defeat of India. She died, but her spirit can never die. India can once again produce Jhansi Ranis and march on to victory.

[*Speech at the opening of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment Training Camp (Singapore),—*  
OCTOBER 22, 1943.]

## XX

### TOTAL MOBILISATION

“When the I.N.A. is getting trained either to march to victory or to spill its last drop of blood on the way, the rich people are asking me whether total mobilisation means 10 per cent or 5 per cent of their riches. I would ask these people who are speaking of percentages whether we can tell our soldiers to fight and spill only 10 per cent of their blood and save the rest.”

Look at those who have volunteered to join the Indian National Army and who are now getting the necessary training. They do not know how many of them would live to see India free. They are getting ready with the one thought of shedding their last drop of blood. They are getting ready to go to a free India or to die on the way. There is no programme of retreat for them. . . .

When the I.N.A. is getting trained either to march to victory or to spill its last drop of blood on the way, the rich people are asking me whether total mobilisation means 10 per cent or 5 per cent of their riches. I would ask these people who are speaking of percentages whether we can tell our soldiers to fight and spill only 10 per cent of their blood and save the rest. . . .



The poor classes have been coming forward voluntarily and with enthusiastic spirit to offer everything that they have. Poorer class Indians like watchmen, washermen, barbers, petty shopkeepers and *gowalas* have come forward with all that they have. And in addition to that some of them have also offered to become volunteers. . . .

Some of these poor people came to me, and not only did they give all the cash they had in their pockets, but went further and gave me their savings bank books, which represent their lives' savings. Are there not rich men among the Indians in Malaya who can come forward and say in the same spirit : " Here is my bank book for the cause of Indian Independence " ? . . .

Indians as a nation believe in the ideal of self-sacrifice. Among the Hindus we have the ideal of the Sanyasins and the Muslims have the way of the Fakirs. Can there be a greater cause, a nobler cause and a holier cause than that of liberating thirty-eight crores of human souls?

My first request to Malaya is for ten crores of rupees, which would be approximately 10 per cent of the value of Indian possessions in Malaya. . . .

[ *Appeal to the wealthy Indian business men in Malaya*,—OCTOBER 26, 1943. ]

## XXI

### THE SECOND DREAM OF MY POLITICAL LIFE

“Only one more dream now remains to be fulfilled, namely, to fight and win our freedom.”

With the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, the second dream of my political life has been fulfilled,—the first being the organisation of a national revolutionary army. Only one more dream now remains to be fulfilled, namely, to fight and win our freedom. . . .

The world knows of course that Nationalist India has been at war with Britain for a long time. Nevertheless, since the Provisional Government of Free India has been formed for the first time, such a declaration has been necessary, in order to clarify our attitude towards Britain and America. . . .

This declaration of war is not a propaganda stunt. We shall prove by our actions that we mean what we say. I, for one, would never have been a party to such a decision, if I had not been confident of putting that decision into practice.

[Statement issued to the world pressmen at the  
Konan Club,—OCTOBER 28, 1943.]



XXII  
NATIONAL ENTITY IN FACT  
AS WELL AS IN NAME

“The liberation of the Andamans has a symbolic significance because the Andamans was always used by the British as a prison for political prisoners.”

For Indians the return of the Andamans represents the first territory to be liberated from British yoke. By the acquisition of this territory, the Provisional Government has now become a national entity in fact as well as in name. The liberation of the Andamans has a symbolic significance because the Andamans was always used by the British as a prison for political prisoners. Most of the political prisoners sentenced to penal servitude for conspiracies to overthrow the British Government,—and there have been hundreds of them,—were locked up in this Island. Like the Bastille in Paris, which was liberated first in the French Revolution, setting free political prisoners, the Andamans, where our patriots suffered much, is the first to be liberated in India's fight for independence. Part by part, Indian territory will be liberated, but it is always the first plot of land that holds the most significance. . . . . We have renamed Andamans as ‘Shaheed’, in

memory of the martyrs; the Nicobar—  
'Swaraj' . . . .

[ *Press interview at the Greater East Asia Nations  
Conference (Tokyo),—NOVEMBER 8, 1943.* ]



## XXIII OUR FINANCES

“All our finances are based on the cardinal rule : Indians stand on their own legs ; they refuse stilts lent by others.”

In spite of tightened belts round empty stomachs, we have refused to borrow loans from the Jap or any other Government. We know one thing : if we take loans today, we are jeopardising the economic freedom of our country tomorrow. Therefore, even from our friends, we do not take loans—we refuse to borrow money. All our finances are based on the cardinal rule : Indians stand on their own legs ; they refuse stilts lent by others. This has given us a lot of independence in our dealings with the Japs. Also it has prevented our worst enemies from pointing a finger at the smallest item in our programme to say that we have bartered the future of our country.

That is also the reason why we have no Japanese trainers in our camps, or Jap or German experts on our staff, or Jap officers to lead our soldiers in battle. Our Fauj is Indian from top to toe.

[ *Speech in Burma*,—JULY 1, 1944. ]

## XXIV

### OUR ACHIEVEMENTS

"Up till now, I have not received any complaint from our troops regarding the hardships that they are suffering. There has been only one complaint from the men and that is when there has been delay in sending them forward. For example, I recently visited an hospital where there were men who have either been wounded, or stricken with malaria or some other disease. All these troops expressed their desire to be sent back to the front as soon as they were well. These are men who fought at the front and they know the conditions there, and yet they were absolutely cheerful and optimistic."

Our achievements during the last twelve months can now be summed up :

1. We have been able to mobilise men, money and materials in accordance with the programme of "Total Mobilisation".
2. We have trained our Army for a modern war and have expanded it considerably.
3. We have organised a women's section in our Army called the Rani of Jhansi Regiment.
4. We have set up our own Government, the Arzi Hukumat-e-Azad Hind, and have obtained recognition from nine friendly Powers.



5. We have acquired our first Free Territory in the Andamans and Nicobar Islands.
6. We pushed forward our Headquarters to Burma, and in February, 1944, we launched our War of Independence. On the 21st March we were able to proclaim to the world that our troops were already in India.
7. We have considerably expanded the work of our Press-Propaganda-Publicity Department.
8. We have set up a new organisation called the Azad Hind Dal, to take over the task of administration and reconstruction in Free India.
9. We have set up a Bank of our own in Burma—the National Bank of Azad Hind Ltd. We have placed orders for our own currency to circulate in Free India.
10. We have been able to give a good account of ourselves in every sector of the fighting front and our troops have been pushing on inside India, slowly but steadily, in spite of all difficulties and hardships. . . .

There was a time when people had some doubt as to whether the Indian National Army would go into action, and whether, if it went into action, it would really defeat the enemy troops. That test

we have passed, and naturally it has given us unbounded confidence in ourselves. . . .

Since the fighting began on the soil of India, this war has become our own war, and the feeling that the war has become our own war has brought a new inspiration not only to our troops who are actually fighting, but also to those who are behind the lines.

Up till now, I have not received any complaint from our troops regarding the hardships that they are suffering. There has been only one complaint from the men and that is when there has been delay in sending them forward. For example, I recently visited an hospital where there were men who have either been wounded, or stricken with malaria or some other disease. All these troops expressed their desire to be sent back to the front as soon as they were well. These are men who fought at the front and they know the conditions there, and yet they were absolutely cheerful and optimistic. Without indulging in any exaggeration I can say that this feeling of unbounded optimism prevails among all Indians in East Asia. . . .

There is still another reason which strengthens our optimism, and that is the situation inside India. As you are well aware, so far there has been no compromise



between the Congress Party on the one side and the British Government on the other. When Mahatma Gandhi was suddenly released some time ago, many people were speculating as to whether the release was purely on grounds of ill-health or it was a prelude to a compromise. Now it is quite clear that the sudden release of Mahatma Gandhi was ordered purely on medical grounds and that there is no political motive involved. As long as there is no compromise between Mahatma Gandhi and the British Government, we have no reason to feel anxious. . . . Our task will be made much easier if there is no compromise inside India between the Congress and the British Government. So far there is absolutely no sign of compromise, and what is exceedingly encouraging to us is that the statements Mahatma Gandhi has made up till now all point in one direction, and that is that he sees no reason to alter the attitude he took up about two years ago when he sponsored the "Quit India" resolution. . . .

Therefore, I come to the conclusion that the situation inside India remains exceedingly favourable to us. One can easily understand that so long as the Congress does not compromise and does not surrender to the British Government, the general attitude of the people will remain anti-British. As our operations

advance, people will soon realise that there is no other way of achieving freedom than fighting for it, and they will decide to participate in the war and to give us all assistance to conduct our war.

[ *Speech on the opening day of "Netaji Week"*  
*at the Jubilee Hall, Rangoon,—JULY 4, 1944.* ]



## ANTI-INDIA RADIO TACTICS

“At an early stage our enemies used to say that the Azad Hind Fauj was no army—that it was a mere propaganda stunt—and that it would never fight. Later on, the anti-India Radio at Delhi began to shout that Azad Hind Fauj had not crossed the frontier of India. Now that frontier has been crossed and the battle for India’s freedom is being waged on Indian soil, enemy propagandists have taken recourse to a last desperate trick. They are now inventing fictitious dates supposed to have been given out by us for our entry into Delhi and are abusing us for not reaching our destination according to schedule.”

The formation of the Azad Hind Fauj has been a source of extreme worry and anxiety to our enemies. They tried to ignore its existence for a time, but when the news could no longer be suppressed, their organ—the anti-India Radio at Delhi—started propaganda to the effect that Indian prisoners-of-war, under Japanese control, had been coerced into joining the army. This propaganda could not, however, endure long, because the news began to infiltrate into India that large numbers of Indian civilians from all parts of East Asia were joining the Azad Hind Fauj. The experts of the anti-India Radio

had therefore to alter their tactics. They then started fresh propaganda to the effect that Indian prisoners-of-war had refused to join the Azad Hind Fauj and that, thereupon, Indian civilians were being forced into joining that army. It did not probably strike the wiseacres at Delhi that if it was impossible to coerce prisoners-of-war into joining the army, it was even more impossible to coerce free civilians into becoming soldiers. . . .

Anybody who has a grain of common sense will realise that though a mercenary army can be organised by coercion, a Volunteer Army can never be so organised. You can perhaps force a man to shoulder a rifle, but you can never force him to give his life for a cause which is not his own.

At an early stage our enemies used to say that the Azad Hind Fauj was no army—that it was a mere propaganda stunt—and that it would never fight. Later on, the anti-India Radio at Delhi began to shout that the Azad Hind Fauj had not crossed the frontier of India. Now that frontier has been crossed and the battle for India's freedom is being waged on Indian soil, enemy propagandists have taken recourse to a last desperate trick. They are now inventing fictitious dates supposed to have been given out by us for our entry into Delhi and are abusing us for not reaching our destination according to schedule. . . .



I have already told you that the Azad Hind Fauj is composed both of ex-Army men as well as of ex-civilians. I may inform you further that it is composed not only of men but also of women. . . .

Friends, the Azad Hind Fauj is an army which is not only composed of Indians, but it has also been trained by Indians. That army is today fighting under Indian officers.

The Azad Hind Fauj is the military organ of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. The Provisional Government and its Army are the servants of the Indian nation. Their task is to fight and liberate India. When that liberation is achieved, it will be for the Indian people to determine the form of Government that they desire. The Provisional Government will then make room for a permanent Government in Free India, which will be set up in accordance with the will of the Indian people. For that glorious day we are now toiling, sweating and fighting.

[ *Address to the soldiers in Rangoon, — JULY 5, 1944.* ]

## XXVI

### O FATHER OF OUR NATION !

"I believe it will be universally admitted that the cleverest and the most cunning politicians are to be found amongst Britishers. One who has worked with and fought British politicians all his life, cannot be deceived by any other politicians in the world. If British politicians have failed to coax or coerce me, no other politician can succeed in doing so."

Mahatmaji,—After the sad demise of Shrimati Kasturba in British custody, it was but natural for your countrymen to be alarmed over the state of your health. . . . . For Indians outside India, differences in method are like domestic differences. Ever since you sponsored the Independence Resolution at the Lahore Congress in December, 1929, all members of the Indian National Congress have had one common goal before them. For Indians outside India, you are the creator of the present awakening in our country. . . . . The high esteem in which you are held by patriotic Indians outside India and by foreign friends of India's freedom, was increased a hundred-fold when you bravely sponsored the "Quit India" Resolution in August, 1942. . . . .

It would be a fatal mistake on our part to make a distinction between the



British Government and the British people. No doubt there is a small group of idealists in Britain—as in the U.S.A.—who would like to see India free. These idealists, who are treated by their own people as cranks, form a microscopic minority. So far as India is concerned, for all practical purposes, the British Government and the British people mean one and the same thing. Regarding the war aims of the U.S.A., I may say that the ruling clique at Washington is now dreaming of world domination. This ruling clique and its intellectual exponents talk openly of the 'American Century'. In this ruling clique, there are extremists who go so far as to call Britain the 49th State of the U.S.A. ....

I can assure you, Mahatmaji, that before I finally decided to set out on this hazardous mission, I spent days, weeks and months in carefully considering the pros and cons of the case. After having served my people so long, to the best of my ability, I could have no desire to be a traitor, or to give any one a justification for calling me a traitor. .... Thanks to the generosity and to the affection of my countrymen, I had obtained the highest honour which it was possible for any public worker in India to achieve. I had also built up a party consisting of staunch and loyal colleagues who had implicit confidence in me. By going abroad on a perilous quest, I



was risking, not only my life and my whole future career, but what was more, the future of my party. If I had the slightest hope that without action from abroad we could win freedom, I would never have left India during a crisis. If I had any hope that within our lifetime we could get another chance—another golden opportunity—for winning freedom, as during the present war, I doubt if I would have set out from home. . . . .

There remains but one question for me to answer with regard to the Axis Powers. Can it be possible that I have been deceived by them ? I believe it will be universally admitted that the cleverest and the most cunning politicians are to be found amongst Britishers. One who has worked with and fought British politicians all his life, cannot be deceived by any other politicians in the world. If British politicians have failed to coax or coerce me, no other politician can succeed in doing so. And if the British Government, at whose hands I have suffered long imprisonment, persecution and physical assault, has been unable to demoralise me, no other power can hope to do so . . . . I have never done anything which could compromise in the least, either the honour or the self-respect or the interests of my country. . . .

There was a time when Japan was an ally of our enemy. I did not come to Japan,



so long as there was an Anglo-Japanese Alliance. I did not come to Japan, so long as normal diplomatic relations obtained between the two countries. It was only after Japan took what I considered to be the most momentous step in her history, namely, declaration of war on Britain and America, that I decided to visit Japan of my own free will. . . . Like so many of my countrymen, my sympathies in 1937 and 1938 were with Chungking. You may remember that as President of the Congress, I was responsible for sending out a medical mission to Chungking in December, 1938. . . .

Mahatmaji, you know better than anybody else how deeply suspicious the Indian people are of mere promises. I would be the last man to be influenced by Japan if her declarations of policy had been mere promises. . . .

Mahatmaji, I should now like to say something about the Provisional Government that we have set up here. The Provisional Government has, as its own objective, the liberation of India from British yoke, through an armed struggle. Once our enemies are expelled from India, and peace and order is established, the mission of the Provisional Government will be over. . . . The only reward that we desire for our efforts, for our suffering and for our sacrifice is the freedom of our Motherland. There are many among us who would like to

retire from the political field, once India is free. . . .

Nobody will be more happy than ourselves, if by any chance our countrymen at home should succeed in liberating themselves through their own efforts, or if by any chance, the British Government accepts your 'Quit India' resolution and gives effect to it. We are, however, proceeding on the assumption that neither of the above is possible and that an armed struggle is inevitable. . . . India's last war of independence has begun. Troops of the Azad Hind Fauj are now fighting bravely on the soil of India and in spite of all difficulty and hardship, they are pushing forward slowly but steadily. This armed struggle will go on, until the last Britisher is thrown out of India and until our Tricolour National Flag proudly floats over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi.

Father of our nation! In this holy war for India's liberation, we ask for your blessings and good wishes.

[ *Broadcast from Rangoon, — JULY 6, 1944.* ]



## XXVII SECOND FRONT

“Revolutionary armies everywhere in the world have to fight under conditions similar to ours but they, nevertheless, triumph at the end. Their strength does not come from beer and rum, tinned-pork and bully-beef—but from faith and sacrifice, heroism and fortitude.

We know that so long as the British Army in India is not attacked from outside, it will be able to suppress the revolutionary movement in the country. The Azad Hind Fauj has, therefore, set up the ‘Second Front’ in India’s war of emancipation. When we advance further into India and the Indian people see with their own eyes, the British forces falling back, they will get the confidence that Britain’s downfall is at hand. Then only will they risk their necks and come and join hands with our advancing forces to liberate the country. Together we shall then pursue the British and expel them from the soil of India. . . .

Friends! Only a fool would minimise the strength of the enemy. We have seen heterogenous armies of our enemies in the Arakans, in the Kaladan and Haka sectors, in the Tiddim area and in Manipur and Assam. As we anticipated long ago, their rations and equipment are superior to ours,

because they have been looting India in order to fight us. We have, nevertheless, beaten them everywhere. Revolutionary armies everywhere in the world have to fight under conditions similar to ours but they, nevertheless, triumph at the end. Their strength does not come from beer and rum, tinned-pork and bully-beef—but from faith and sacrifice, heroism and fortitude. The Azad Hind Fauj—unlike the British Army in India—has been trained to fight under conditions of extreme difficulty and hardship, and it will never let down the 388 millions of Indians for whose liberation it is now fighting. . . .

[ *Speech at a public rally in Rangoon, —JULY 10, 1944.* ]



## XXVIII HATE THE ENEMY

“If you want your countrymen to rise to heights of superhuman courage and heroism, you must teach them not only to love their country but also to hate the enemy.”

As I study the events of 1857 and think of the atrocities perpetrated by the British after the revolution collapsed,—my blood begins to boil. If we are men, we will certainly see to it that the heroes of 1857 and after, who suffered so much from British terror and brutality, are properly avenged. India demands revenge. The British who spilt the blood of innocent freedom-loving Indians and tortured them in an inhuman manner—not only during the war, but after it was over—must pay for their crimes. We Indians do not hate the enemy enough. If you want your countrymen to rise to heights of superhuman courage and heroism, you must teach them not only to love their country but also to hate the enemy.

Therefore, I call for blood. It is only the blood of the enemy that can avenge his crimes of the past. But we can take blood, only if we are prepared to give blood. Consequently, our programme for the future is to give blood. The blood of our heroes

in this war will wash away our sins of the past. The blood of our heroes will be the price of our liberty. The blood of our heroes—their heroism and their bravery—will secure for the Indian people the revenge that they demand of their British tyrants and oppressors.

[ *Speech on the occasion of a ceremonial parade of the Fauj held at the Tomb of Bahadur Shah in Rangoon,—JULY 11, 1944.* ]



## XXIX

### ENEMY PROPAGANDA

"A leopard cannot change its spots. The liar cannot stop lying even if he knows that he is no longer trusted. He hopes against hope that there are still enough fools in this world who could be taken in. Consequently, I am not surprised that the British are continuing their game of lying and bluffing."

The methods of British propaganda during the last war have been recorded in black and white by Englishmen themselves. One has only to read such books as *Secrets of Crews House* and *Wartime Falsehoods* by Ponsonby, to realise what British propagandists are capable of. It was an English General, Brigadier Charteris, who started the rumour in the last war that the Germans were extracting fat from the bodies of dead soldiers. He knew that it was a deliberate falsehood, and after the war, he confessed that he had not hoped that his propaganda would strike roots. But the unsophisticated section of the world public thought that a British General could not lie, and the trick therefore worked.

A leopard cannot change its spots. The liar cannot stop lying even if he knows that he is no longer trusted. He hopes against

hope that there are still enough fools in this world who could be taken in. Consequently, I am not surprised that the British are continuing their game of lying and bluffing.

For a fairly long time, enemy propagandists put out a story that the Azad Hind Fauj was a puppet army which has been forced to fight Japan's war. But they ultimately realised that the trick was not working. Everybody was naturally asking as to how a puppet army could fight so bravely and so stubbornly. The tactics have now been altered, and the world is being told that the Azad Hind Fauj is a ragged army with poor rations and poor equipment. . . .

Revolutionary armies all over the world—whether in Ireland or Italy or Russia or elsewhere—have to fight under similar conditions. Everywhere they have won at the end. So also shall we. But we shall first have to pay for our liberty with our blood.

A new stunt is that Islam is persecuted here, that we are anti-Muslims. You know what falsehood that is. We have Muslims in the Provisional Government, in the I.I.L. and in the Fauj. Muslim officers in our Fauj are not nobodies. They are sons of distinguished families who took their education in the Military Academy at Dehra Dun. No, their lies cannot affect us. Nor



will the world believe them.

[*Talk to the Women's Section of the Indian Independence League in Rangoon,—JULY 12, 1944.*]

### XXX

## GANDHIJI'S PLAN

“If that (Gandhiji's) plan succeeds, our plan and our activities would become superfluous and redundant. None would be happier than myself in that event.”

We, in East Asia, have chalked out a concrete plan for winning liberty for India. Whether that plan is good or bad, so long as no alternative plan is forthcoming, our plan is bound to hold the field. The only other alternative plan that has been mooted is that of Mahatma Gandhi, embodied in the Quit India Resolution of the Congress. If that plan succeeds, our plan and our activities would become superfluous and redundant. None would be happier than myself in that event.

But unfortunately Gandhiji's plan has been rejected and has failed. Now all hopes for Indian Independence rest entirely on the fulfilment of our plan. Gandhiji's plan is a shorter cut than ours. But it is disapproved by the British. Now to fulfil even Gandhiji's plan, the success of our plan is absolutely essential to force the hands of the British. The only way the British can undo our plan fructifying is by making peace with Gandhiji and the Congress on the basis of the Quit India



**Resolution.** If the British quit India, I shall plead with you to disband the Fauj immediately.

[ *Reply to a question as to how the conflict between his plan for freedom and that of Mahatmaji would be resolved,—AUGUST 1, 1944.* ]

## XXXI WAR SITUATION

“In all sectors, till the rains began, we either held the enemy or advanced. In the Arakan Sector the enemy was held. In the Kaladan Sector, we routed the enemy and advanced. In Tiddim we advanced. In Palel and Kohima also we advanced. In the Haka Sector we held them. And these all, in spite of the numerical superiority that the enemy had, plus equipment and rations.”

We started operations too late. The monsoon was disadvantageous to us. Our roads were submerged. River traffic had to be against current. Against this the enemy had first-class roads. Our only chance was to take Imphal before the rain started; and we would have succeeded if we had more air support and if their forces in Imphal had not special orders to make a stand to the last man. If we had started in January we would have succeeded. In all sectors, till the rains began, we either held the enemy or advanced. In the Arakan Sector the enemy was held. In the Kaladan Sector, we routed the enemy and advanced. In Tiddim we advanced. In Palel and Kohima also we advanced. In the Haka Sector we held them. And these all, in spite of the numerical superiority that the enemy had, plus equipment and rations.



When the rains came we had to postpone the general assault on Imphal. The enemy was able to send mechanised divisions and thus was able to retake the Kohima-Imphal Road. The question then arose where we should hold the line. There were two courses open: Either hold on to the Bishenpur-Palel Line and not allow the enemy to advance; or fall back and hold a more advantageous position. . . .

What are the lessons we have learnt from this campaign? We have received our baptism of fire. A body of ex-civilians who were ordered to withdraw when the ammunition was exhausted, preferred not to withdraw, and with fixed bayonets they charged the enemy. They came back victorious. . . .

Our troops have gained much confidence. We have learnt that the Indian troops with the enemy are willing to come over. We must now make arrangements to take them over. We have learnt the tactics of the enemy. We have captured enemy documents. The experience gained by our commanders has been invaluable. Before the campaign started the Japanese had no confidence in our troops and wanted to break them up into batches attached to the Japanese Army. I wanted a front to be given to our men and this was ultimately given. Our Divisional Commander and other officers have gained much experience

from this campaign.

We have also learnt our defects. Transport and supply were defective owing to the difficult terrain. We had no Front Line Propaganda. Though we had prepared personnel for this, we could not use it owing to lack of transport. Henceforth each unit of the I.N.A. will have a propaganda unit attached to it. We wanted loud-speakers but the Japanese failed to supply them to us. We are now making our own.

[ *Address to the chief workers at the I.I.L. Headquarters,—AUGUST 13, 1944.* ]



XXXII  
AN APPOINTMENT WITH DEATH

*"Tum ham ko khoon do,  
Main tum ko Azadi doonga !*

You give me your blood, I shall get you  
freedom—this is the demand of Liberty."

Our Motherland is seeking liberty. She can no more live without liberty. But Liberty demands sacrifice at its altar. Liberty demands the unstinted sacrifice of your strength, your wealth, all that you value, all that you possess. Like the revolutionaries of the past you must sacrifice your ease, your comfort, your pleasures, your cash, your property. You have given your sons as soldiers for the battlefields. But the Goddess of Liberty is not yet appeased. I shall tell you the secret of pleasing her. Today she demands not merely fighters, soldiers for the Fauj. Today she demands rebels—men rebels and women rebels—who will be prepared to join Suicide Squads—for whom death is a certainty—rebels who will be ready to drown the enemy in the streams of blood that shall flow from their own body.

*Tum ham ko khoon do,  
Main tum ko Azadi doonga !*

You give me your blood, I shall get  
you freedom—this is the demand of  
Liberty.

*Shouts arose from the audience spontaneously, "We are ready—We shall give our blood—Take it now."*

*Netaji continued: Listen to me, I do not want your emotional approval. I want rebels to step forward and sign this Suicide Squad Oath,—this document which is an appointment with death on the altar of the Goddess of Liberty.*

*"We are ready to sign," came back the answer from every corner of the hall.*

*But you cannot sign an appointment with death in ordinary ink. You shall have to write with your own blood. Step up, those who dare, I am here to witness your blood-seal for liberty for our Motherland.*

*The vast audience suddenly was on its legs and frantic humanity surged towards the platform. Knives and pins were drawing blood, and the first signatures were made. There were seventeen women who signed first,—they would not yield place to menfolk until their batch had finished. For an hour people were signing, in every part of the hall, with their blood their own doom of death.*

*[ Speech at the Martyrs' Day in the Jubilee Hall, Rangoon,—SEPTEMBER 21, 1944. ]*



### XXXIII

## THE DEAREST DREAM OF MY LIFE

“I have been a dreamer of dreams, but the dream of all my dreams, the dearest dream of my life, has been the dream of freedom for India.”

I have been a dreamer of dreams, but the dream of all my dreams, the dearest dream of my life, has been the dream of freedom for India. They think it is a discredit to be a dreamer? I take pride in being one. They do not like my dreams. But that is nothing new. If I did not dream dreams of India's freedom, I would have accepted the chains of slavery as something eternal. The real crux of the question is, can my dreams become realities? I submit they have increasingly become realities. The Army is one such dream come true. . . . No, I do not mind being a dreamer. The progress of the world has depended on dreamers and their dreams,—not dreams of exploitation and aggrandisement and perpetuating injustice,—but dreams of progress, happiness for the widest masses, liberty and independence for all nations.

[Talk to a prominent woman worker of the Indian Independence League,—SEPTEMBER 27, 1944.]

## XXXIV

### ON THE EVE OF LEAVING BURMA

"I have the fullest confidence that that spirit can never be crushed. For the sake of India's Freedom, I beseech you to keep up that spirit, I beseech you to hold your heads erect, and wait for that blessed Day when once again you will have an opportunity of waging the War for India's Independence."

To my Indian and Burmese Friends in Burma!

Brothers and Sisters! I am leaving Burma with a very heavy heart. We have lost the first round of our fight for Independence. But we have lost only the first round. There are many more rounds to fight. In spite of our losing the first round, I see no reason for losing heart.

You, my countrymen in Burma, have done your duty to your Motherland in a way that evoked the admiration of the world. You have given liberally of your men, money and materials. You set the first example of Total Mobilisation. But the odds against us were overwhelming and we have temporarily lost the battle in Burma.

The spirit of selfless sacrifice that you have shown, particularly since I shifted



my headquarters to Burma, is something that I shall never forget, so long as I live.

I have the fullest confidence that that spirit can never be crushed. For the sake of India's Freedom, I beseech you to keep up that spirit, I beseech you to hold your heads erect, and wait for that blessed Day when once again you will have an opportunity of waging the War for India's Independence.

When the History of India's Last War of Independence comes to be written, Indians in Burma will have an honoured place in that History.

I do not leave Burma of my own free will. I would have preferred to stay on here and share with you the sorrow of temporary defeat. But on the pressing advice of my Ministers and high-ranking officers, I have to leave Burma in order to continue the struggle for India's liberation. Being a born optimist, my unshakable faith in India's early emancipation remains unimpaired and I appeal to you to cherish the same optimism.

I have always said that the darkest hour precedes the dawn. We are now passing through the darkest hour; therefore, the dawn is not far off. India shall be free.

I cannot conclude this message without publicly acknowledging once again my heartfelt gratitude to the Government and people of Burma for all the help that

I have received at their hands in carrying on this struggle. The day will come when Free India will repay that debt of gratitude in a generous manner.

[ *Message to co-workers before finally leaving Burma,—*APRIL 24, 1945.]



## XXXV

### SPECIAL ORDER OF THE DAY

“My unshakable faith in India's liberation remains unaltered. I am leaving in your safe hands our National Tricolour, our national honour, and the best traditions of Indian Warriors. I have no doubt whatsoever that you, the vanguard of India's army of liberation, will sacrifice everything, even life itself, to uphold India's national honour, so that your comrades who will continue the fight elsewhere may have before them your shining example to inspire them at all times.

Brave officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj! It is with a very heavy heart that I am leaving Burma—the scene of the many heroic battles that you have fought since February, 1944, and are still fighting. In Imphal and Burma, we have lost the first round in our Fight for Independence. But it is only the first round. We have many more rounds to fight. I am a born optimist and I shall not admit defeat under any circumstances. Your brave deeds in the battle against the enemy on the plains of Imphal, the hills and jungles of Arakan and the oil-field area and other localities in Burma will live in the history of our struggle for Independence for all time.

Comrades! At this critical hour, I have only one word of command to give you,



and that is that if you have to go down temporarily, then go down as heroes; go down upholding the highest code of honour and discipline. The future generations of Indians who will be born, not as slaves but as freemen, because of your colossal sacrifice, will bless your names and proudly proclaim to the world that you, their forebears, fought and lost the battle in Manipur, Assam and Burma, but through temporary failure you paved the way to ultimate success and glory.

My unshakable faith in India's liberation remains unaltered. I am leaving in your safe hands our National Tricolour, our national honour, and the best traditions of Indian Warriors. I have no doubt whatsoever that you, the vanguard of India's army of liberation, will sacrifice everything, even life itself, to uphold India's national honour, so that your comrades who will continue the fight elsewhere may have before them your shining example to inspire them at all times.

If I had my own way, I would have preferred to stay with you in adversity and share with you the sorrow of temporary defeat. But on the advice of my Ministers and high-ranking officers, I have to leave Burma in order to continue the struggle for emancipation. Knowing my country-men in East Asia and inside India, I can assure you that they will continue the fight



under all circumstances and that all your suffering and sacrifices will not be in vain. So far as I am concerned, I shall steadfastly adhere to the pledge that I took on the 21st of October, 1943, to do all in my power to serve the interests of thirty-eight crores of my countrymen and fight for their liberation. I appeal to you, in conclusion, to cherish the same optimism as myself and to believe, like myself, that the darkest hour always precedes the dawn. India shall be free—and before long.

May God bless you !

[ *Last Special Order of the Day*,—APRIL 24, 1945. ]